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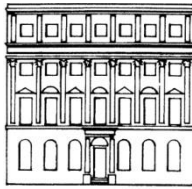
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Kay Schiller:

'When Saturday Comes': New Books on German and International Sports History

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REVIEW ARTICLE

'WHEN SATURDAY COMES': NEW BOOKS ON GERMAN AND INTERNATIONAL SPORTS HISTORY

KAY SCHILLER

BERNO BAHRO, *Der SS-Sport: Organisation – Funktion – Bedeutung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), 327 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 77288 6. €44.90

EVA MARIA GAJEK, *Imagepolitik im olympischen Wettstreit: Die Spiele von Rom 1960 und München 1972*, *Geschichte der Gegenwart*, 7 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013), 559 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 1196 1. €48.00

GISELHER SPITZER, ERIK EGGERS, HOLGER J. SCHNELL, and YASMIN WISNIEWSKA, *Siegen um jeden Preis. Doping in Deutschland: Geschichte, Recht, Ethik 1972–1990* (Göttingen: Verlag Die Werkstatt, 2013), 448 pp. ISBN 978 3 7307 0077 8. €38.00

NILS HAVEMANN, *Samstags um halb 4: Die Geschichte der Fußballbundesliga* (Munich: Siedler, 2013), 672 pp. ISBN 978 3 8275 0006 9. €26.99

ALAN TOMLINSON, *FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association): The Men, the Myths and the Money* (London: Routledge, February 2014), x + 196 pp. ISBN 978 0 415 49830 2. £75.00 (hardback). ISBN 978 0 415 49831 9. £24.99 (paperback)

MARKWART HERZOG (ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport: Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens*, *Irseer Dialoge: Kultur und Wissenschaft interdisziplinär*, 17 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), 448 pp. ISBN 978 3 17 022554 1. €29.90

Sports history is a booming field of historical research. Major sports events are no longer just an occasion for the publication of gossipy autobiographies and glossy coffee table books for the consumption of fans, but also inspire serious scholarship. Sports history is a field in which the boundaries between popular history and academic scholarship are porous. Much of what is written for a mass market is pro-

ductively appropriated by serious historians, while their work, in turn, is read beyond the realm of sports scholars. The last FIFA World Cup in Brazil, for example, led, in Britain and the USA, to the publication of a number of eminently readable historical books on the host country and Brazilian football more generally.¹ Football is also the subject of quality fanzines-cum-magazines, such as *When Saturday Comes* or its German equivalent *11 Freunde*, which regularly publish historical articles. And football often features in magazines dedicated to popular history. A search of the *History Today* archives from 1980 onwards returns 328 articles dealing with football in one way or another. More recently, there has also been a marked growth in quality websites on sports history, such as Bruce Berglund's *New Books in Sports* podcasts, *The Allrounder*, and the *Football Scholars Forum*.²

Common to all these publications is a recognition that sports (not just football) history has arrived in the academic mainstream. It is now an accepted part of cultural history like the history of film, for example. Part of the attraction of sport for fans and professional historians alike is that in all known cultures and civilizations it has never been purely autotelic, that is, an activity pursued exclusively for its own sake or as an end in itself.³ In the words of Christiane Eisenberg, the doyenne of German sports history, sport inhabits a semi-autonomous sphere of society. It functions according to its own rules but, at the same time, is a sub-system of society,⁴ and, as such, both reflects and influences trends in society.

The first half of this review article deals with publications that focus on the political purposes realized through sport from the 1930s to the 1970s and until the end of the Cold War.⁵ This reflects sport's

¹ See David Goldblatt, *Futebol Nation: A Footballing History of Brazil* (London, 2014); Roger Kettle, *The Country of Football: Soccer and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 2014); Joshua H. Nadel, *Futbol!: Why Soccer Matters in Latin America* (Gainesville, Fla., 2014).

² See <<http://newbooksinsports.com/>>, accessed 13 Jan. 2015; <<http://theallrounder.co/>>, accessed 13 Jan. 2015; <<http://scholars.footy-forum.net/>>, accessed 13 Jan. 2015.

³ Ellis Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sports* (4th edn. London, 2005), 81.

⁴ Christiane Eisenberg, 'English Sports' und deutsche Bürger: Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 1800–1939 (Paderborn, 1999), 12–16.

⁵ See Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianotti, *Ethics, Sport and Money: The Sporting Mammon* (London, 2007), 31–2.

main function for nation-states during the 'age of extremes'. It is also the area of sports history from which 'non-sports historians' feel they can learn most. Many recent works on football history, a few of which will be discussed in the second half, have a different focus. It is not that national politics is absent from these works, and excellent national football histories continue to be written, as Brazil 2014 showed yet again. But football's globalizing force and economic power, its internationalism and commercialism make it especially suitable for transnational perspectives and analyses. While politics is never far away in these works, other hitherto underexplored themes, especially the ever increasing role of money in the 'people's game' over the past fifty years, take precedence.

Unsurprisingly, Berno Bahro's book on sport in Hitler's SS focuses on the abuse of sport by the Nazi regime. There is very little in this work to suggest that sport inhabited a sphere of its own and that it was also pursued for autotelic purposes (although, in reality, it probably was). The instrumentalization of sport by politics, especially fencing (ch. 4) and horse-riding (ch. 5) for future SS leaders (with Reinhard Heydrich and Eva Braun's future brother-in-law, Hermann Fegelein, prominently representing both sports), as well as less exclusive physical pastimes for the lower ranks, could not be more obvious. The main argument of this Ph.D. thesis-turned-monograph, which was supervised by the eminent Potsdam sports historian Hans Joachim Teichler, is that sport was intended to foster the morale and *esprit de corps* of the SS, and to demonstrate the status of the 'Black Corps' as a racial elite in German society. Bahro also stresses that sport was one means by which the SS competed for influence with other groups in National Socialism's competitive society ('NS-Wettkampfgesellschaft', p. 301) in 'working towards the Führer' (in the words of Ian Kershaw). Before his assassination in 1941, the ambitious Heydrich, for example, was aiming to rise to the top position in German sport and replace Hans von Tschammer und Osten as Reich Sports Leader.

It is well known that apart from Heydrich, most of the Nazi elite initially did not care much about sport unless it prepared German men for war. An equally well-known fact is that this changed when sport's propaganda potential was recognized on the occasion of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The SS also saw the Olympic Games as a not-to-be-missed chance to stamp its imprint on German sport. Unlike

Heydrich, Heinrich Himmler was not a gifted athlete, as his amateurish approach to the shot-put while training for the Reich Sports Badge, depicted on the cover of Bahro's book, shows. He wanted the nucleus of the German Olympic team to be recruited from the SS, and for it to win a large number of medals in 1936. Both wishes turned out to be pipe dreams, and while sporting activities continued to be varied in the SS during peace time and the early years of the war, after 1943 the main function of sport was again reduced to ensuring military fitness.

Bahro provides a competent institutional and organizational history of SS sport, thereby filling a gap in our knowledge. This is a notable achievement, but the fact that the book does not go beyond this is lamentable. As Veronika Springmann has rightly pointed out, scholars looking for insights into the impact of sport on the mentality of the SS and wanting to get to the bottom of the relationship between Nazi sport, the body, and exterminatory violence will be disappointed.⁶ In contrast to Svenja Goltermann's work on German *Turnen* (gymnastics), in which she explains how physical practices shape both bodies and minds and lead to the 'in-corporation' of mental attitudes, Bahro's book unfortunately displays no real engagement with the crucial question of sport's influence on German mentalities.⁷ My other qualm is about Bahro's wooden, often stilted prose.

While it is a truism that every topic presents its own challenges, it is tempting to compare Bahro's work with Eva Maria Gajek's decidedly more ambitious Ph.D. project on the parallel histories of the 1960 Rome and 1972 Munich Olympics, the first book of its kind to combine an analysis of two such sporting mega-events in different countries. This is a truly remarkable achievement, and not only because of the range and variety of primary source materials that inform Gajek's study. I have to declare an interest here, as I am the co-author of a history of the Munich Games that appeared a few years before Gajek's book.⁸ I am therefore more than aware of the

⁶ Veronika Springmann, review of Berno Bahro, *Der SS-Sport: Organisation – Funktion – Bedeutung* (Paderborn, 2013), in *H-Soz-Kult*, 10 Apr. 2014, online at <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2014-2-027>>, accessed 13 Jan. 2015.

⁷ Svenja Goltermann, *Körper der Nation: Habitusformierung und die Politik des Turnens 1860–1890* (Göttingen, 1998).

⁸ Kay Schiller and Christopher Young, *The Munich Olympics and the Making of Modern Germany* (Berkeley, 2010).

mountains of material available to conscientious historical researchers interested in the Munich Games. While the richness of archival holdings seems to have presented less of a challenge in the Italian case, Gajek, in turn, found little in terms of a research basis concerning Rome 1960 upon which to build her scholarly edifice. But she left no stone unturned there either.

The author's main achievement, however, lies elsewhere. The book instructively compares two further attempts to politically instrumentalize sport. Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany, two post-fascist states, each used 'their' Olympics as an occasion for representing themselves to audiences abroad and at home, thus refashioning their national identities in relation to a problematic past. The book also reveals an acute awareness of the role played by the mass media, especially the press and television, in these processes. While Christopher Young and I also used media sources for our history of Munich 1972, unlike Gajek (p. 11), we did not assign them an elevated status as historical agents in their own right, which is perhaps a shortcoming of our book.⁹ Thus Gajek, like Christian Tagsold, whose study of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics operates in a similar fashion,¹⁰ adds an additional discursive dimension to the history of these mega-events.

Not surprisingly, this reader was especially interested in Gajek's specific insights on the Rome Olympics of 1960. She shows convincingly, for example, how the poor Italian *mezzogiorno* was mostly written out of the Olympic story in 1960 by the organizers and the media. The Rome Games were first and foremost a '*mise-en-scène* of the rich, industrialized North' (p. 93). The Games were also symbolic confirmation of Italy's membership in NATO, the United Nations, and the European Communities (p. 111). As in Munich, staging the Rome Olympics was an elite project, though the involvement of party politicians, led by future multiple government minister and prime minister 'Divo' Giulio (after Julius Caesar's epithet) Andreotti, was greater there. And the juxtaposing of Pier Luigi Nervi's modernism (p. 229) and Mussolini's Foro Italico (previously Foro Mussolini, p. 232) as Olympic venues suggests that the Italian organizers felt less

⁹ Christopher Young, incidentally, is currently working on a media history of German sport in the twentieth century.

¹⁰ Christian Tagsold, *Die Inszenierung der kulturellen Identität in Japan: Das Beispiel der Olympischen Spiele Tokyo 1964* (Munich, 2002).

need than the Munich OC to make a clear rupture with the fascist past. As Gajek shows, their politics of the past was characterized by constant references to *Roma Eterna* and artificial claims to the heritage of classical Rome as a universal inspiration for the Olympic ideal (p. 218), regardless of the fact that Mussolini had equally laid claim to this part of the Italian past. To sum up, this is an excellent book, rich in interesting material and illuminating insights, although occasional long-winded passages mean that it is not always easy to read. This comparatively small problem might have been overcome by more stringent editing.

Gajek's study does not deal in great detail with the German-German dimension of the Munich Games. Christopher Young and I covered the intra-German sports contest of 1972 and its ramifications quite extensively in our book,¹¹ while the historical development of the rivalry between the sports establishments of the two German states has been thoroughly investigated by Andreas Höfer, Uta Balbier, and, most recently, Juliane Lanz.¹² Both East and West Germany were keen to demonstrate the superiority of their political systems, and came third and fourth respectively in the 1972 medal table, behind the superpowers. The systematic use of banned substances as one of the key reasons for the GDR's disproportionate athletic success at this and later Olympics and international championships continues to receive much scholarly attention, for example, in the excellent concise survey of GDR sport by Mike Dennis and Jonathan Grix.¹³ They also show, however, that the focus on the

¹¹ Schiller and Young, *The Munich Olympics*, 157–86.

¹² See Andreas Höfer, 'Querelle d'allemand: Die gesamtdeutschen Olympiamannschaften (1956–1964)', in Manfred Lämmer (ed.), *Deutschland in der olympischen Bewegung: Eine Zwischenbilanz* (Frankfurt am Main: Nationales Olympisches Komitee für Deutschland, 1999), 209–59; Uta Andrea Balbier, *Kalter Krieg auf der Aschenbahn: Der deutsch-deutsche Sport 1950–1972: Eine politische Geschichte* (Paderborn, 2007); Juliane Lanz, *Zwischen Politik, Protokoll und Pragmatismus: Die deutsche Olympiageschichte von 1952 bis 1972* (Berlin, 2011).

¹³ Mike Dennis and Jonathan Grix, *Sport under Communism: Behind the East German 'Miracle'* (Basingstoke, 2012), chs. 4 and 5; see Uta Balbier's review of this title in *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 36/1 (2014), 125–8. The work by these two UK scholars builds on the pioneering efforts of Brigitte Berendonk (and Werner Franke) and Giselher Spitzer in the 1990s; see Brigitte Berendonk, *Doping-Dokumente: Von der Forschung zum Betrug* (Berlin,

'totalitarian' East German elite sports machine, in which the systematic use of performance-enhancing drugs was endemic, has somewhat unfairly overshadowed other features of sport in East German 'real socialism'.¹⁴

Doping in West German elite sport, in turn, has only recently attracted more systematic attention from historians. Given that history is written by the victors who, after 1990, were faced with an overabundance of sources left by a state and regime that perished, this is not surprising. And as Michael Krüger and Christian Becker have recently demonstrated, the prospect of creating unbeatable all-German teams in future by combining the GDR sports system with Western commercial incentives proved too tempting for politicians and sports functionaries alike to resist. This meant that the Treaty on German Unity preserved the heart of the GDR's sports system, for example, the infamous Doping Control Laboratory in Kreischa, whose scientific expertise was used to prevent drugged East German athletes from being caught.¹⁵ Attitudes changed only when doping and anti-doping in the capitalist West attracted greater public interest internationally during the 1990s and 2000s. This led to political threats of public funding cuts for elite sports in Germany and a greater willingness to address the issue both as a problem in the present and as a legacy from the past. Nevertheless, significant parts of the (West) German sports establishment continue to be protective of their reputation, and are unwilling to admit that during the Cold War 'doping and manipulation were practised [there] as well and particularly vigorously'.¹⁶ Because of the relative autonomy of German sport despite its dependence on money from public coffers, German sports organizations are not legally bound to grant researchers access to their materials.

While the use of EPO, blood doping, and performance-enhancing hormones by German athletes remain largely unexplored, the will-

1991); Giseler Spitzer, *Doping in der DDR: Ein historischer Überblick zu einer konspirativen Praxis. Genese – Verantwortung – Gefahren* (4th edn. Cologne, 2013; first published 1998).

¹⁴ Dennis and Grix, *Sport under Communism*, 198.

¹⁵ Michael Krüger and Christian Becker, 'Doping and Anti-Doping in the Process of German Reunification', *Sport in History*, 34/4 (2014), 620–43, at 622.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 621.

ingness of some sports federations, such as the German athletics federation (DLV), to embrace transparency and open their files has allowed a promising start to be made. The authors of *Siegen um jeden Preis* acknowledge the limitations of their undertaking (p. 400), but theirs is nevertheless a truly ground-breaking book. It contains the results of the second part of the research project 'Doping in Germany from 1950 to 1990'. Initiated by the German Olympic Sports Association (DOSB), Germany's main sports organization, the project was led by the foremost German historian of doping, Giselher Spitzer. It was funded by the Bundesinstitut für Sportwissenschaft (BISp), which in this way attempted to come to terms with problematic aspects of its past. The project involved a number of collaborators, including Erik Eggers, a well-known sports writer and historian, and was officially completed in 2012, although the results of both project stages were not fully published until 2013.¹⁷ This delay made headlines at the time and raised suspicions that the project's official sponsors were unhappy with some of its findings. This is not surprising, as its main result is that, despite declarations to the contrary by quite a few former athletes and functionaries, doping in West Germany was more widespread than originally believed and admitted.

On the basis of numerous documents and statements by informants, Spitzer et al. demonstrate that in order to guarantee 'equal chances for international athletic success' ('internationale Chancengleichheit', p. 354), the West German state used taxpayers' money to sponsor research into performance-enhancing drugs, especially anabolic steroids. When steroids were banned by the IOC in 1974 with the DSB following suit in 1977, the focus of research and state funding shifted towards testosterone as a regeneration-enhancing drug for elite athletes (p. 156). This research, sponsored by the BISp, was mainly conducted under the leadership of prominent sports scientist Joseph Keul from Freiburg University's medical school, which in 2007 became the centre of the Team Telekom doping scandal in German professional cycling. It has rarely been out of the news since then. The latest information that has come to light is that while setting up an independent inquiry headed by the Italian criminologist and Mafia expert Letizia Paoli into the activities of Keul and others, Freiburg University seems to be restricting the material it makes

¹⁷ The results of the first project stage were published as Giselher Spitzer (ed.), *Doping in Deutschland: Geschichte, Recht, Ethik 1950–1972* (Cologne, 2013).

available to the commission. In October 2014 Paoli threatened to resign from her post.¹⁸ At the same time, the scholarship of Spitzer et al. seems to have helped to spur German politicians into action. At the time of writing in November 2014, the German interior and justice ministers introduced a long overdue legislative proposal, which, when passed by parliament in 2015, will make doping a criminal offence punishable by prison.

How did the West German doping system compare with that of the East? While the use of banned substances by athletes in the GDR was 'Staatsdoping',¹⁹ a state-run undertaking that followed a systematic plan involving the production of banned substances in factories such as VEB Jenapharm, their use on elite athletes from an early age, and their concealment in places like Kreischa, it was no less a 'systemic' practice in West Germany. However, smaller networks 'where athletes, coaches, doctors and managers worked together in a *Trainingsgruppe*' to maximize performances with the help of banned substances were more typical of the West German scene.²⁰ Dennis and Grix usefully sum up the difference: 'Doping was widespread and structured in both [countries] but the differences lay in the higher degree of central-state control of research in the GDR, the minute regulation of the administration of substances to athletes and the almost blanket systematisation of doping in the socialist state.'²¹ In any event, Spitzer et al. show that based on frequency and seen in moral terms West Germany did not lag far behind East Germany in substance abuse. While doping happened in a semi-private, semi-public sphere, all actors operated with the financial support of the state and could rely on the tacit approval of the authorities.

One of the sports organizations that blocked research by Spitzer and his collaborators into the use of banned substances in its past was the German football association DFB. It did not allow the researchers access to its files (p. 400), regardless of whether such practices existed or whether it even held any records to this effect. To be clear, there

¹⁸ See <<http://www.spiegel.de/sport/sonst/doping-letizia-paoli-droht-universitaet-freiburg-mit-ruecktritt-a-997807.html#ref=veeseoartikel>>, accessed 25 Oct. 2014.

¹⁹ See Klaus Latzel, *Staatsdoping: Der VEB Jenapharm im Sportsystem der DDR* (Cologne, 2009).

²⁰ Krüger and Becker, 'Doping and Anti-Doping', 629.

²¹ Dennis and Grix, *Sport under Communism*, 120.

are well-founded suspicions that players in the West German national teams in the 1954 and 1966 World Cups were given amphetamines, while the use of banned substances had been the order of the day for GDR teams competing in international competitions since the mid 1960s.²² Yet there is still no agreement on whether banned substances even have a performance-enhancing effect in football. The DFB, however, shows no interest in clarifying the issue. My own experience of researching the history of the 1974 FIFA World Cup, famously hosted and won by West Germany, confirms that unlike FIFA, which, perhaps surprisingly, allows researchers relatively open access to its archival holdings in Zurich, the German FA is not especially interested in historians inquiring into its past.²³

Despite such obstacles, and basing his research primarily on a multitude of other sources, including the archives of a number of important clubs, the Stuttgart historian Nils Havemann has succeeded in writing the first serious economic, social, and cultural history of professional football in West Germany. While the main focus of *Samstags um halb 4* is the DFB's top league competition, the *Bundesliga*, the professional German league founded in 1963, Havemann's book covers much more. It branches out into a variety of different areas which, while relevant to the league, also explain the fortunes of the game in the Federal Republic more widely. In essence, the book is a sequel to his equally rich and convincing study of German football under National Socialism.²⁴ Given that, all too often, football scholars and historians limit themselves to reporting what the contemporary press wrote about a match, a club, a team, or a player, often leading to superficial results, it is refreshing to see that *Samstags um halb 4* is grounded in meticulous historical research.

If one were looking for a thread holding these extremely well-written 672 pages together, it would have to be Havemann's emphasis on the close relationship between the processes of professionalization and commercialization in German elite football. While other scholars have concentrated primarily on the role of football in German

²² See Erik Eggers's contribution in Spitzer (ed.), *Doping in Deutschland*, and Giseler Spitzer, *Fußball und Triathlon: Sportentwicklung in der DDR* (Aachen, 2004), 24.

²³ See my *WM 74: Als der Fußball modern wurde* (Berlin, 2014).

²⁴ Nils Havemann, *Fußball unterm Hakenkreuz: Der DFB zwischen Sport, Politik und Kommerz* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).

culture and identity,²⁵ Havemann's main focus here, as in his previous monograph, is on the economic interests connected with football as a product. He shows that from the 1960s on top-level professional football became part of the entertainment industry in Germany.

The main economic imperative to which this gave rise was that in order to be successful in the *Bundesliga*, clubs had to recruit the best players and keep them from moving elsewhere. This was only possible by paying them ever more inflated salaries. At least initially, this happened at a time when club incomes were still primarily based on gate receipts rather than on revenue from advertising, television, and merchandising. This often made them take on major debt and sail dangerously close to bankruptcy. As Havemann shows, in the 1960s and well into the 1970s, they often survived only by manipulating their balance sheets and through the generosity of local politicians and tax authorities (pp. 193–208). The first German world star of football, Franz Beckenbauer, who profited handsomely from the process and whose club salary alone increased more than fiftyfold in the decade from 1963, wrote in 1975 that the clubs 'took financial risks, even the thought of which would lead a city treasurer to put a gun to his head'.²⁶

But Havemann's study does not stop there. He follows the changing fortunes and increasing professionalization of the league throughout the entire fifty years. For example, he also analyses in illuminating detail how highly indebted clubs like Bayern Munich, VFB Stuttgart, and Werder Bremen undertook successful reforms from 1978 onwards, whereas other historical names in German club football, such as 1. FC Nürnberg and Schalke 04, missed the boat at crucial moments. When focusing on football's cultural impact he shows how through the media, especially television, the sport increasingly lost the stigma attached to it in Germany as a pastime of and for the 'uneducated' working classes. What had been mainly a proletarian spectator sport from the Weimar Republic to the 1950s increasingly moved from the margins to the centre of modern mass

²⁵ See e.g. Markwart Herzog (ed.), *Fußball als Kulturphänomen: Kunst – Kult – Kommerz* (Stuttgart, 2002); Wolfram Pyta (ed.), *Der lange Weg zur Bundesliga: Zum Siegeszug des Fußballs in Deutschland* (Münster, 2004); Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (eds.), *German Football: History, Culture, Society* (London, 2006).

²⁶ Franz Beckenbauer, *Einer wie ich* (Munich, 1975), 253–4.

culture, sustained by the success of the *Bundesliga*. As early as in the mid 1970s, Beckenbauer could state, with some justification, that 'football is no longer a closed milieu. There is no special football "class". Football has become a big deal, a sport that has both followers and opponents.'²⁷ Other topics on which Havemann has interesting things to say include violence and racism, and the renationalization of the German national team from the late 1980s on. And the list could be extended. *Samstags um halb 4* is a remarkable achievement in terms both of breadth of coverage and sharpness of analysis. It is no exaggeration to claim that it sets a new scholarly standard and that it is already a classic which no serious historian of German football can afford not to read.

Havemann shows that money continues to play an ever increasing role in modern football. The corrupting influence of the hypercommodification of the game through television and marketing revenue is also at the core of Alan Tomlinson's short survey *FIFA: The Men, the Myths and the Money*. This is the fifth book which the sociologist and football scholar from the University of Brighton has written about the game's world governing body since the 1980s.²⁸ Tomlinson therefore knows his subject matter very well, not only from studying historical and contemporary documents (to the extent that these are available to researchers), but also from interviews with members of the international football hierarchy and close observation of the FIFA elite at some of its gatherings. Tomlinson cares deeply about the sport and believes that football, like other sports, 'should operate with some sense if not code of ethics and . . . that there are "interests of international sport" that may be in need of protection' (p. 87).

While eschewing the sensationalism of investigative journalists like Andrew Jennings and David Yallop in favour of sober interpretation and understanding,²⁹ Tomlinson unmasks the ease with which

²⁷ Ibid. 154.

²⁸ See Alan Tomlinson and Gary Whannel (eds.), *Off the Ball: The Football World Cup* (London, 1987); John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the Peoples' Game?* (Cambridge, 1998); eid., *Great Balls of Fire: How Big Money is Hijacking World Football* (Edinburgh, 1999); eid., *Badfellas: FIFA Family at War* (Edinburgh, 2003).

²⁹ See Andrew Jennings, *Foul! The Secret World of FIFA: Bribes, Vote Rigging and Ticket Scandals* (London, 2006); David Yallop, *How They Stole the Game* (London, 2011).

members of the FIFA elite have, in the last forty years, been able to abuse their positions of power. Through the massive influx of money since the 1970s, FIFA's role has changed radically from that of a relatively small organization overseeing the rules of the game and the organization of international tournaments to that of a dynamic global sports enterprise. That said, much of the content of this book is already well known to football historians, not least from the earlier monographs in which the author collaborated. Tomlinson deals with FIFA's origins (ch. 1), its structure and mechanisms (ch. 2), and then focuses on the influence its most important presidents, Jules Rimet, Sir Stanley Rous, and João Havelange (ch. 3), had on the development and running of football's world governing body and international football. This part of the book culminates in an indictment of the role the current incumbent, Sepp Blatter, Havelange's chosen successor, continues to have in world football and the international sporting landscape. Blatter was brought into FIFA by Havelange as early as 1975 and now, forty years later, is heading for a fifth term in office as FIFA president. In what is one of the weaker chapters (4) in an otherwise excellent volume, Tomlinson tries to get to grips with how Blatter managed to get the position of FIFA's 'supreme leader' (p. 71) and how he has been able to hold on to it since 1998. Given that most of the goings-on in the higher echelons of FIFA are sealed off from view and are likely to remain in the dark, despite recent internal investigations, Tomlinson often relies on conjecture and witness accounts without being able to prove their veracity. To be fair, however, he shares this problem with every outsider trying to understand the complex inner workings of this institution and its representatives.³⁰ Tomlinson is on much firmer ground when explaining the role of the men's World Cup as FIFA's 'cash cow' (ch. 6) and how the organization acquired its by now immense wealth (ch. 5). Given the crisis of credibility and legitimacy which football's world governing body has been suffering since late 2014, Tomlinson's book must be recommended reading for anyone interested in the future of the 'people's game' and how FIFA got itself and international football into such a compromised position.

Germany and the world's favourite pastime is also the subject of Markwart Herzog's edited volume, *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport*,

³⁰ See e.g. Thomas Kistner, *FIFA-Mafia: Die schmutzigen Geschäfte mit dem Weltfußball* (Munich, 2012).

though in a rather different fashion. Herzog is a prominent and prolific German scholar of the 'beautiful game'. He has published widely on football under the Nazi regime, including on the fortunes of 1. FC Kaiserslautern, the German 'Red Devils', during that period.³¹ More recently, he has also written a fascinating book on attempts to 'Nazify' German football tactics in the early years of the war.³² And he regularly organizes academic conferences on various aspects of football history, one of which resulted in this sizeable volume on memorial and sepulchral cultures in football. The book is a pioneering attempt to get to grips with an aspect of football culture which has hitherto been neglected by scholars, its relationship with memory and death. The volume comprises contributions by eighteen authors, some very lengthy and detailed and extending the themes of the book in various directions, which makes it impossible to do them all justice here.

In their introductory chapters, Herzog and Sven Güldenpfennig remind us that football, like all other areas of human endeavour, constantly generates its own memorial cultures, which are determined by the interplay of memory and forgetting. As is amply demonstrated in other parts of the book, this means that both concrete memorials (for example, the 'Holy Trinity' and Sir Alex Ferguson stands at Old Trafford, or the Shankly statue and stand at Anfield) and narrative memorials, that is, stories, myths, and legends about certain players, matches, locations, and so on are constructed. Other actors of football culture in turn fall victim to the damnation of memory. For political reasons this was the fate, as Insa Schlumbohm's, Jutta Braun's, and Michael Barsuhn's contributions recall, of the persecuted Jewish members of Arminia Bielefeld in the Federal Republic and of East German players seen as 'class enemies' by the Stasi during the GDR dictatorship.

While readers familiar with the scholarly literature on memory will find much in this book that is well known to them from other spheres of culture, the volume is most innovative and original where

³¹ Markwart Herzog, *Der 'Betze' unter dem Hakenkreuz: Der 1. FC Kaiserslautern in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, 2006); id. (ed.), *Fußball zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Alltag – Medien – Künste – Stars* (Stuttgart, 2008).

³² Id., *'Blitzkrieg' im Fußballstadion: Der Spielsystemstreit zwischen dem NS-Sportfunktionär Karl Oberhuber und Reichstrainer Sepp Herberger* (Stuttgart, 2012).

it deals with death and focuses on football's ability to generate its own sepulchral culture. Herzog's contribution on memorial bricks, engraved with the names of fans who have passed away, which are sold and used in commemorative walls forming part of the stadium architecture is particularly instructive. This sepulchral practice, which was invented at Glasgow Rangers and has spread to other clubs in Scotland and England, shows how commercialization and memory in football can enter into a fruitful partnership (p. 134). Were it not for the fact that, at forty pounds, the bricks cost less than the average ticket for a home game in the Scottish and English Premier Leagues and that even this minor income helps poor lower and non-league clubs to make ends meet, one could lament the commercialization of football and the willingness of the football business to exploit fans' love for their clubs even beyond death. However, that football stadia are displacing churches and graveyards as places of worship is nothing new, of course. In England and Scotland, fans' ashes have for decades been scattered on sections of the pitch, and two German clubs, Schalke 04 and Hamburger SV, now also possess dedicated fan cemeteries. Fans increasingly want to be buried in the kits of the 'love of their lives' and buried in coffins painted in club colours. As the moving funeral service for Robert Enke in Hanover's former AWD (now HDI) Arena in 2009 demonstrated, football stadia can be an appropriate setting for farewelling footballers who die under tragic circumstances (pp. 255–9).

Of course, stadia themselves have occasionally been places where people have met a violent death. It is therefore more than fitting that Glasgow Rangers have built a memorial for the victims of the Ibrox disaster of 1971 (pp. 149–51) and that the Heysel and Hillsborough disasters in 1985 and 1989 are remembered with memorials at Sheffield Wednesday FC's ground and at Anfield. Anne Eyre shows for the latter case that it was in large part due to the continued pressure exerted by the Hillsborough Family Support Group in conjunction with the memorialization of the disaster that in 2009, some twenty years after the event, the then Home Secretary appointed the Hillsborough Independent Panel which was tasked with establishing the full reasons why ninety-six people died in the most serious tragedy in UK sporting history (pp. 193–4).³³

³³ The report of the inquiry is available online at <<http://hillsborough.independent.gov.uk/>>, accessed 14 Jan. 2015.

Review Article

Herzog's book and the other publications discussed here show that sport is an extremely fruitful area for historical scholarship, whether one is interested in politics, commercialization, memory, or a multitude of other areas that have not been touched upon here. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine our culture without sport. And it is no exaggeration to claim that football provides scholars with important clues for understanding our culture.

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